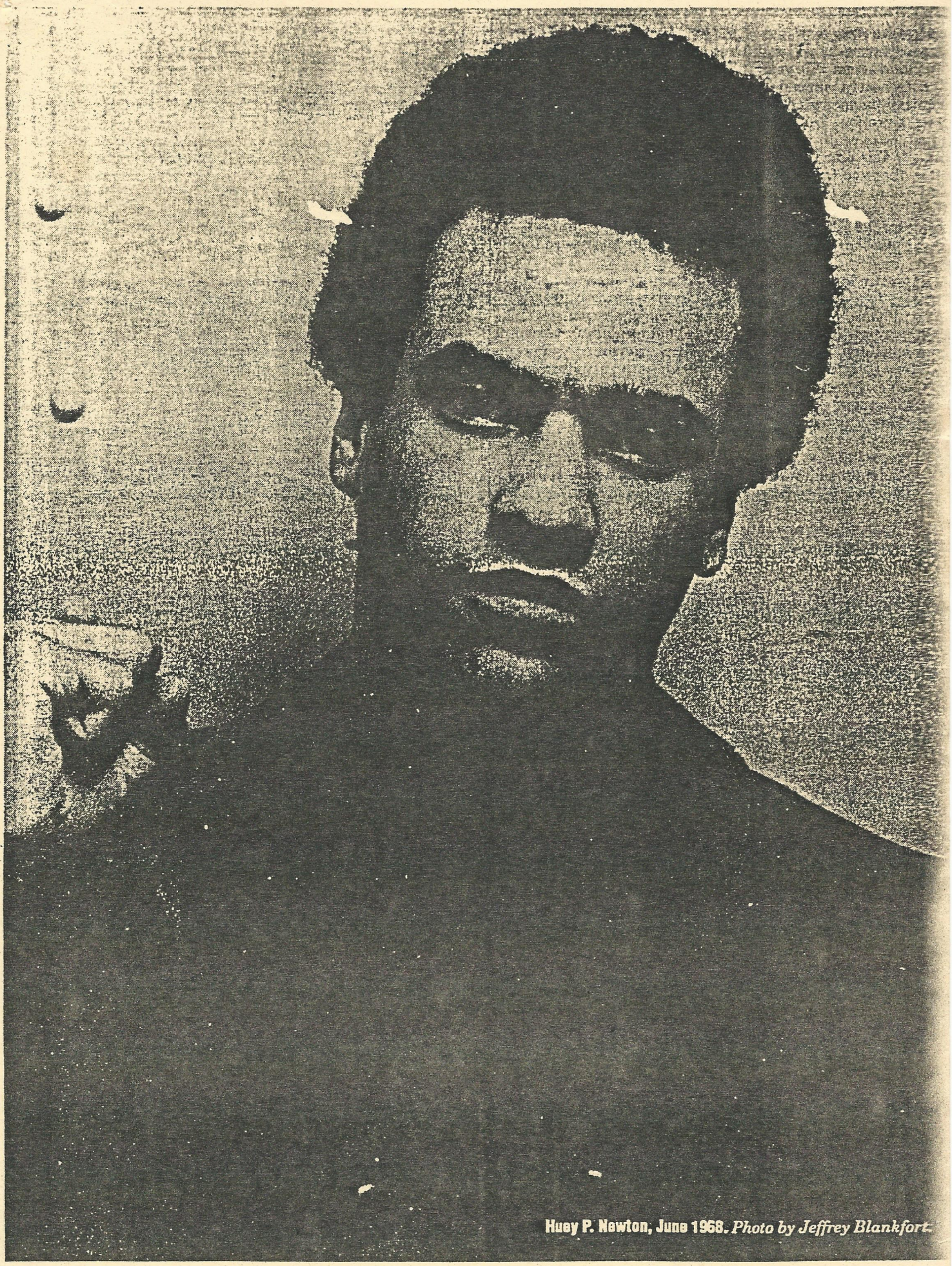

Huey P. Newton, June 1968. *Photo by Jeffrey Blankfort.*

A Letter from Huey to the Revolutionary Brothers and Sisters about the Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements

During the past few years, strong movements have developed among women and among homosexuals seeking their liberation. There has been some uncertainty about how to relate to these movements.

Whatever your personal opinions and your insecurities about homosexuality and the various liberation movements among homosexuals and women (and I speak of the homosexuals and women as oppressed groups), we should try to unite with them in a revolutionary fashion. I say "whatever your insecurities are" because, as we very well know sometimes our first instinct is to want to hit a homosexual in the mouth and want a woman to be quiet. We want to hit the homosexual in the mouth because we're afraid we might be homosexual; and we want to hit the woman or shut her up because we're afraid that she might castrate us, or take the nuts that we might not have to start with.

We must gain security in ourselves and therefore have respect and feelings for all oppressed people. We must not use the racist type attitude like the White racists use against people because they are Black and poor. Many times the poorest White person is the most racist, because he's afraid that he might lose something, or discover something that he doesn't have; you're some kind of threat to him. This kind of psychology is in operation when we view oppressed people and we're angry with them because of their particular kind of behavior, or their particular kind of deviation from the established norm.

Remember, we haven't established a revolutionary value system; we're only in the process of establishing it. I don't remember us ever constituting any value that said that a revolutionary must say offensive things towards homosexuals, or that a revolutionary should make sure that women do not speak out about their own particular kind of oppression. Matter of fact it's just the opposite: we say that we recognize the women's right to be free. We haven't said much about the homosexual at all, and we must relate to the homosexual movement because it's a real thing. And I know through reading and through my life experience, my observations, that homosexuals are not given freedom and liberty by anyone in the society. Maybe they might be the most oppressed people in the society.

And what made them homosexual? Perhaps it's a whole phenomena that I don't understand entirely. Some people say that it's the decadence of capitalism. I don't know whether this is the case; I rather doubt it. But whatever the case is, we know that homosexuality is a fact that exists, and we must understand it in its purest form: That is, a person should have freedom to use his body in whatever way he wants to. That's not endorsing things in homosexuality that we wouldn't view as revolutionary. But there's nothing to say that a homosexual cannot also be a revolutionary. And maybe I'm now injecting some of my prejudice by saying that "even a homosexual can be a revolutionary." Quite on the contrary, maybe a homosexual could be the most revolutionary.

When we have revolutionary conferences, rallies and demonstrations there should be full participation of the gay liberation movement and the women's liberation movement. Some groups might be more revolutionary than others. We shouldn't use the actions of a few to say that they're all reactionary or counterrevolutionary, because they're not.

We should deal with the factions just as we deal with any other group or party that claims to be revolutionary. We should try to judge somehow, whether they're operating sincerely, in a revolutionary fashion, from a really oppressed situation. (And we'll grant that if they're women, they're probably oppressed.) If they do things that are un-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, then criticize that action. If we feel that the group in spirit means to be revolutionary in practice, but they make mistakes in interpretation of the revolutionary philosophy, or they don't understand the dialectics of the social forces in operation, we should criticize that and not criticize them because they're women trying to be free. And the same is true for homosexuals. We should never say a whole movement is dishonest, when in fact they're trying to be honest, they're just making honest mistakes. Friends are allowed to make mistakes. The enemy is not allowed to make mistakes because his whole existence is a mistake, and we suffer from it. But the womens liberation front and gay liberation front are our friends, they are potential allies, and we need as many allies as possible.

We should be willing to discuss the insecurities that many people have about homosexuality. When I say "insecurities," I mean the fear that they're some kind of threat to our manhood. I can understand this fear. Because of the long conditioning process which builds insecurity in the American male, homosexuality might produce certain hangups in us. I have hangups myself about male homosexuality. Where, on the other hand, I have no hangup about female homosexuality. And that's phenomena in itself. I think it's probably because male homosexuality is a threat to me, maybe and the females are no threat.

We should be careful about using those terms that might turn our friends off. The terms "faggot" and "punk" should be deleted from our vocabulary, and especially we should not attach names normally designed for homosexuals to men who are enemies of the people, such as Nixon or Mitchell. Homosexuals are not enemies of the people.

We should try to form a working coalition with the Gay liberation and Women's liberation groups. We must always handle social forces in the most appropriate manner. And this is really a significant part of the population: both women, and the growing number of homosexuals that we have to deal with.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Huey P. Newton
Supreme Commander
Black Panther Party

—*The Black Panther*, August 15, 1970

Third World Gay Revolution

Sisters and brothers of the Third World, you who call yourselves "revolutionaries" have failed to deal with sexist attitudes. Instead, you cling to male supremacy and therefore to the conditioned role of oppressors. Brothers still fight for the privileged position of man on the top. Sisters quickly fall in line behind their men. By your counter revolutionary struggle to maintain and to force heterosexuality and the nuclear family, you perpetuate outmoded remnants of capitalism. By your anti-homosexual stance, you have used the weapons of the oppressor, thereby becoming the agent of the oppressor.

It is up to Third World males to realistically define masculinity because it is you, who, throughout your lives have struggled to gain the unrealistic role of "men." Third World men have always tried to reach this precarious position by climbing on the backs of women and homosexuals. "Masculinity" has been defined by white society as the amount of possessions (including women) a man collects, and the amount of physical power gained over other men. Third World men have been denied even the false standards of "masculinity." Therefore, stop perpetuating in yourselves and your community the white supremacist's notions which are basic to your own oppression.

We, as Third World gay people suffer a triple oppression:

1. We are oppressed as people because our humanity is routinely devoured by the carnivorous system of capitalism.

2. We are oppressed as Third World people by the economically inherent racism of white Amerikan society.

3. We are oppressed by the sexism of white society and the verbal and physical abuse of masculinity-deprived Third World males.

The right of self determination over domination of one's own body is a human right and this right must be defended with one's body being put on the line.

By the actions you have taken against your gay brothers and sisters of the Third World, you, who throughout your lives have suffered the torments of social oppression and sexual repression, have now placed yourselves in the role of oppressor.

Anti-homosexuality fosters sexual repression, male supremacy, weakness in revolutionary drive and results in an inaccurate non-objective political perspective.

What We Want

What we want:
What we believe:

1. We want the right of self-determination for all third world and gay people, as well as control of the destinies of our communities.

We believe that third world and gay people will not be free until we are able to determine our own destinies. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

2. We want the right of self-determination over the use of our bodies; the right to be gay, any time, any place. The right to free physiological change and modification of sex on demand. The right of free dress and adornment. We believe that these are human rights which must be defended with our bodies being put on the line. Our system as it exists now denies these basic human rights by implementing forced heterosexuality.

3. We want full protection of the law and social sanction for all modes of human sexual self-expression. We believe that present laws are oppressive to third world and gay people, and as such, expose the inequalities of capitalism. Capitalism can only exist in a state where there are oppressed people or groups. This must end. The system must be changed. Socialism is the answer.

4. We want liberation for women. We want free and safe birth control information and devices on demand. We want free 24-hour child care centers controlled by those who use them. We want access for women to all educational opportunities. We want truthful teaching of women's history. We want an end to preferential hiring against women and oppressed National Minorities.

We believe that the liberation of women is a problem for humanity itself, and that regardless of the ideology of some political groups, the struggle must be to abolish capitalism, not to reform men. The abolition of capitalism is a precondition for total emancipation of women.

5. We want the abolition of the nuclear bourgeois family. We believe that it perpetuates the false categories of homosexuality and heterosexuality by creating sex roles and sex definitions. The nuclear family propagates capitalism: the woman is an instrument of production.

6. We want a free educational system that teaches us our true identity and history, and presents the entire range of human sexuality without advocating any one form or style; that sex roles and sex-determined skills not be fostered by the schools; that language be modified so that no gender takes priority. We believe that we have been taught to compete with our sisters and brothers for power, and from that competitive attitude grows sexism, racism, male and national chauvinism and distrust of our sisters and brothers. It is every child's right to develop in a non-sexist, non-racist, non-possessive atmosphere which is the responsibility of all people to create. As we begin to understand these things within ourselves, we attempt to free ourselves of them and are moved toward a revolutionary consciousness.

7. We want full employment for third world and gay people. We believe that the government is responsible and obligated to give every woman and man employment or a guaranteed income. Being interested only in profits, capitalism cannot meet the needs of the people.

8. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings. We believe that this is a basic need and right which must not be denied on any grounds. Landlords are capitalists, and, like all capitalists, are motivated only by the accumulation of profits, as opposed to the welfare of the people.

9. We want all third world and gay people when brought to trial, to be tried by a peoples court with a jury of their peers from their community. A peer is a person from similar social, economic, geographical, racial, historical, environmental and sexual background. We have been and are being tried by all-white, sexist juries that have no understanding of the average third world gay woman or man. We believe that this can never come about in the judicial system as it exists now.

10. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of third world and gay people.

11. We want all third world and gay men to be exempt from military service. We also want an immediate end to military oppression both at home and abroad. We believe that third world and gay people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist and sexist government that does not protect us. The only true army of oppressed people is the people's army and we believe that third world and gay people should have full participation in the People's Revolutionary Army.

12. We want an end to all organized religions because they aid in the genocide of third world and gay people by teaching hatred and superstition.

13. We want a new society—a socialist society. We want liberation, food, shelter, clothing, transportation, health care, employment, and utilities for all. We want a society where the needs of our people come first. We believe that all people should share the labor and products of society, according to each one's needs and abilities, regardless of race, sex, or sexual orientation. We believe that technology should be used to liberate all peoples of the world. Capitalism, in all its various forms, promotes the domination of one person by another.

—*Berkeley Tribe*, Nov. 13-20, 1970

Newton's Law

Historic Black Panther letter tries for coalition with black lesbians and gay men

By Alycee J. Lane

"We want the right of self-determination for all third world and gay people, as well as control of the destinies of our own communities."

This demand was the first of 12 published anonymously in the Nov. 13-20, 1970 issue of the underground newspaper *The Berkeley Tribe*. Under the title "Third World Gay Revolution: What We Want," the demands, which in substance comprised a Third World Gay manifesto[1], were almost an *exact* duplicate of those in the Black Panther Party's Ten-Point Platform and Program. Some of them, in fact, deviated from the Party's demands *only* when such words as "black community" were substituted with "third world and gay people."

HISTORY

The authors of "Third World Gay Revolution" were not the only group to model their manifesto after the Panther Platform. So also did the Young Lords, a revolutionary Puerto Rican liberation party, as well as several Black Student Unions across the country. Yet, the authors were not simply using the Panther Platform for a mere model. The authors were, more importantly, signifying on their *exclusion* from the dialogue that was occurring between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the whites involved in the lesbian and gay liberation movement. This dialogue was opened by Huey Newton himself—co-founder and Minister of Defense of the BPP—who, on Aug. 15, 1970 published in the Party's newspaper *The Black Panther* an open letter "to the revolutionary brothers and sisters about the women's liberation and gay liberation movements." In this letter, Newton called for Panther support of and coalition with these struggles.

Both Newton's letter and the responses it received from many white lesbian and gay liberationists were marked by a complete lack of awareness regarding the fact that Third World lesbians and gay men not only *existed*, but also that they comprised an essential link between the Third World and the lesbian and gay liberation movements. Because this connection was not recognized, the attempts at coalition were shaky, at best. The authors of the manifesto, then, ultimately provided the missing link by outlining their specific struggle and its connection to—as well as differences with—*both* liberation movements.

THE NEWTON LETTER. The historical significance of Huey Newton's letter should not be underestimated. It was the *first* time *any* non-gay black organization—whether mainstream, like the NAACP, or radical, like Ron Karenga's US—recognized the oppression of homophobia; connected that oppression to the plight of black people; and attempted —based on that connection—to build coalitions openly with lesbians and gay men. The community context out of which Newton wrote the letter further underscores its significance: not only were several black nationalists loudly proclaiming that homosexuality was a white man's disease and that its manifestation within black communities was a result of white colonial rule, but Newton's own Minister of Information and Chairman—Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, respectively—had themselves often freely expressed their homophobia. In *Soul On Ice*, Cleaver connected homosexuality with capitalism and spiritual decadence; in *Seize the Time*, Seale simply concurred with Cleaver's assumptions. Apparently signifying on both officers, Newton wrote, "some people say that [homosexuality is a result of] the decadence of capitalism. I don't know whether this is the case; I rather doubt it. But whatever the case is, we know that homosexuality is a fact that exists, and we must understand it in its purest form: That is, a person should have freedom to use his body in whatever way he wants to." Considering the context, Newton took a serious risk; he could have experienced substantial fall-out from black communities and from his own ranks as well.[2]

The letter is not without its problems, however. Not only is it riddled with Newton's own homophobia (which he acknowledges throughout), but it's tone is sexist. While supposedly addressing both "brothers" and "sisters," Newton easily fell into a dialogue with brothers only. For instance, Newton wrote, "we should be willing to discuss the insecurities that many people have about homosexuality. When I say 'insecurities,' I mean the fear that they're some kind of threat to *our manhood*" (my emphasis). Also, his primary focus was on *male* homosexuals; he referred only briefly to lesbians, and didn't even broach the fears "sisters" may have had regarding homosexuality.

The distance with which Newton discussed gay liberation suggests that he was unable to recognize or grapple with the existence of black lesbians and gay men. As a result, the letter reveals his "them" versus "us" position:

> We must always handle social forces in the most appropriate manner. And this is really a significant part of the population both women, and the growing number of homosexuals that *we have to deal with* (my emphasis).

Newton's "we" is empty of lesbians and gay men. Our inclusion would have, I think, required a totally different kind of letter from Newton, one grounded very much in home territory; meaning, he would have needed to address the fact that homosexuals were a "significant part" of the black population. The "them-us" dichotomy is emphasized further by the picture accompanying the letter, which shows white lesbians and gay men walking a picket line.

Finally, Newton assumed that lesbians and gay men were not within the ranks of the Panthers themselves. One has to wonder what his conceptualization of coalition would have been had he made this assumption. I think it is safe to claim that Newton was specifically addressing white lesbians and

gay men who were, undoubtedly, much more visible in the liberation movement.

Newton's Letter: The Reception. The publication of Newton's letter was met with silence in black newspapers and magazines. Though the Panthers were at their peak in popularity (an April 13, 1970 public opinion poll of black communities revealed that 62 percent of those polled expressed great admiration for the Party and their programs) and were the subject of much debate regarding their activities, ideology, and coalitions, the letter nevertheless did not receive any attention.

The lesbian and gay underground press responded much differently. Many chose to simply reprint the letter, without any accompanying editorial. Others, however, used the opportunity to either distance the lesbian and gay liberation movement from the black liberation movement or used the opportunity to affirm—while simultaneously qualifying—connections between the struggles. In the *Advocate,* for example, under the title "Sorry, Huey" (Oct. 14-27, 1970), the editors wrote that "we suspect that your newfound friendliness is not so much for our own good as it is to strengthen your own group through alliances—no matter that these alliances may be very distasteful to your followers (ask Eldridge Cleaver)." Compelled to clearly delineate the position of *white* gay men (which, to me, is implicit in the very language of the statement), the editors further asserted that the "overwhelming majority of gays, we believe, do not want to destroy this nation and replace it with—well, what are you going to replace it with?"

The Great Speckled Bird (Oct. 4, 1970), on the other hand, reprinted the letter with a response from Jerry Dreva of the Milwaukee Gay Liberation Front in support of the Panther's "first step." The Dreva letter was also an attempt to clear up Newton's "lack of deep understanding of the Gay Liberation Movement," for Dreva outlined specifically the public (as well as Newton's) misperceptions of homosexuality and also the particular oppression homosexuals face.

The Coalition. Women's and gay liberation groups were hopeful that the new alliance would work, and the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (Nov. 1970)—called by the Panthers—was to become its testing ground.

The Convention itself was planned as a gathering of revolutionaries from around the country to create an alternative to the U.S. Constitution, an alternative which would, according to Newton, "guarantee that within the socialist framework all groups will be adequately represented in the decision-making and administration which affects their lives." At the plenary session held on Sept. 5, 1970, gay and feminist groups participated in large numbers. Yet, the enthusiasm that they brought to the session was quickly marred by their realization that the Panthers, in fact, had not changed their attitudes toward women in general and lesbians and gay men in particular. The experiences of the New York Radical Lesbians is a case in point. Comprised of white women, the group in an open letter published in *The Berkeley Tribe* (Oct. 30-Nov. 6, 1970) detailed the roadblocks Panther men *and* women erected to prevent them from not only meeting in workshop sessions but from including their specific needs within the People's Constitution. They wrote, "speaking from our guts, from the depth of our oppression, we say that the Black Panthers are sexist; that the Black Panther Party, supposedly our brothers in revolution, oppresses us in a doubly painful thing. But we will take no one's shit." The N.Y. Radical Lesbians' open letter inspired other women t also share their negative experiences and, as a result, once hopeful organizations immediately withdrew their suppor of the Panthers. Angela Douglas of the Transvestite-Trans sexual Action Organization in Tallahassee, Fla., for example wrote to the *Advocate* that "as a result of the refusal of th Black Panther Party to accept the demands of gay women... withdraw all support previously given to the Black Panthe Party and declare myself to be an enemy of the Blac Panther Party" (Nov. 11-24, 1970). The Gay Liberation Fron (GLF), however, maintained—but cautiously—its alliance with the Panthers.

Just as Newton failed to address the existence of blac lesbians and gay men or, more broadly, lesbians and gay me of the Third World, so also did white gay liberationists. As result, each side maintained a homogeneous vision of thei respective movements—black liberation was distinctly he erosexual; gay liberation was distinctly white. Neither cha lenged each other's vision. In the absence of this challeng the Panthers easily dismissed many lesbian and gay co cerns, and whites themselves—whose expectations of an *im mediate* change in Panther sexist and homophobic attitud was, at best, unrealistic (only the GLF recognized Newto letter as a "first step")—could confidently assert that th Panthers were not at all sincere.

"Unless Huey P. Newton does more than make self-ser ing statements about the oppression of gay people and wo en" Angela Douglas wrote the *Advocate,* "your editoria ["Sorry, Huey"] must be recognized as completely correct an valid."

Neither side realized, ultimately, that the coalition wa indeed *dependent* upon the recognition of black lesbians an gay men, whose investment in black and gay liberation co nected the struggles and posed a challenge to the hegemon assumptions of both movements. Yet, the burden of respons bility also fell on other shoulders. Black, or more generall Third World lesbians and gay men were strangely silent a the dialogue and attempts at coalition raged. Finally, tw months following the Plenary Session and one week prior t the Constitutional Convention itself, they broke their silence but by this time, the Panthers had already experienced fall out from various gay and women's groups, and the fragil coalition was rapidly deteriorating.

Third World Gay Revolution. The publication of th Third World Gay Revolution manifesto was, in spite of it late arrival, an important and powerful entry into th Panther-gay liberation dialogue. And while the autho detailed the particular oppression, demands and beliefs Third World lesbians, they simultaneously *signified* on th Panthers and white gay liberationists—"read" them, so t speak, for their narrow focus and agenda.

In the accompanying preface, for instance, the autho addressed the manifesto to "the sisters and brothers of th Third World, you who call yourselves 'revolutionaries' clearly mimicking the address of Newton's letter, itself wri ten to "revolutionary brothers and sisters." Through this ge ture, they were questioning that revolutionary status, an quickly pointed out that "male supremecy" and homophob continued to be embraced by Third World liberation group The authors concluded the preface with a charge that define the relationship between these groups and Third World ga and lesbians, one which ultimately positioned the liberatio groups as *counterrevolutionary*:

> By the actions you have taken against your gay brothers and sisters of the Third World, you...have now placed yourself in the role of oppressor.

As was mentioned previously, the authors also modeled their manifesto after the BPP Platform and Program, and did so in a way that broadened the Platform's scope. Not only were the issues of gays and lesbians added, but other People of Color were incorporated as well through the use of the term "Third World." And, specific demands calling for women's liberation and an end to sexism were crucial aspects of this new manifesto. Such additions signaled to the Panthers that if they were going to embrace women's and gay liberation, then they needed to reflect this not only in their rhetoric but in their organizational structure as well.

Yet, there was a flip-side to reframing the Panther Platform. The maneuver signaled—or should have signaled—to white lesbians and gays that those of the Third World were completely invested in the struggles of their communities, and invested in the very issues that the *Panthers* were raising. This is evident by the fact that, fundamentally, *none* of the Panther demands were eliminated. If anything, they were modified to reflect a Third World gay and lesbian perspective. Thus, any easy dismissal of the Panthers was not only a cop-out from the hard work of coalition, but it was, more significantly, an indication of the racial hegemony that many white gays and lesbians wished to maintain. That wish, as I pointed out, was clearly spoken in the *Advocate* editorial "Sorry, Huey." The editors just could *not* imagine the society the Panthers called for—one where blacks could be free from police brutality, be fully employed, adequately housed, etc. Such imaginings required a different perception of power between whites and People of Color, and, frankly, many white gay liberationists were not interested at all in changing the status quo.

The most important aspect of the Third World Gay manifesto, however, was not the fact that it signified, but instead that it was the articulation of a distinct movement. In other words, it was a call to Third World lesbians and gays to begin their own organizing around the issues of racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia.

Unlike the BPP Platform, the Gay manifesto located the self and the home as places of radical transformation:

> We want the right of self-determination over the use of our bodies....
>
> We want full protection of law and social sanction for all modes of human sexual self-expression....
>
> We want the abolition of the nuclear bourgeois family....

Though the Panthers expressed at the plenary session of the Constitutional Convention that these represented "bourgeois concerns" (white gays and lesbians brought up similar demands), the authors of the manifesto on the contrary felt that the home was the place where societal ills were perpetually reinforced. Regarding the "nuclear bourgeois family," for instance, the authors charged that "it perpetuates the false categories of homosexuality by creating sex roles and sex definitions. The nuclear family propogates capitalism. The woman is an instrument of production." The self and the family, in other words, were very powerful instruments of oppression, and if they were not tranformed, then society itself could not be revolutionized.

The authors also confronted the church. Though not going so far as to call for an abolition of spiritual/religious belief, they did, however, call for "an end to all organized religions." Without in-depth elaboration, the writers simply claimed that organized religions "aid in the genocide of third world and gay people by teaching hatred and superstition."

Implicit in these demands is the belief that heterosexuals are themselves oppressed by the very system they wish to maintain; that a call for a "Third World Gay Revolution" is more than freeing lesbian and gay men from heterosexist oppression. The call is for a reconceptualization of human relations—one not predicated on capitalism, which "promotes the domination of one person by another," but on "a new society —a socialist society" where "we are able to determine our own destinies." As long as both heterosexuals and homosexuals remain invested in capitalism, the authors were saying, then oppression would continue.

By publishing the Third World Gay Revolution manifesto two weeks prior to the Constitutional Convention, the authors were no doubt providing *their* vision of the "socialist framework" that Newton was determined to create. And their vision necessarily demanded that the Panthers and white lesbians and gay men attend to their own limitation and narrow focus, and begin the work of true coalition building.

"WHERE ARE THE GAY BLACK PANTHERS?" The manifesto, unfortunately, was not enough to strengthen the Panther-gay liberation alliance. Though the BPP and gay organizations would continue to work together on a number of issues—including Bobby Seale's 1973 Oakland mayoral campaign—their coalition would always be fraught with tension and distrust.

Perhaps, finally, what was needed was an answer to the one crucial question posed by the editors of the gay newspaper, *Gay Sunshine*, a question no one thought to ask as the coalitions were being forged: Where are the gay black panthers?

Where were they indeed?

For while the authors of the manifesto boldly insisted upon the connections between both movements, they certainly could have used the added strength of the lesbian and gay panthers themselves in order to insure that the alliance would hold. Nevertheless, the manifesto's publication was a beginning, a breaking of silence and an important phase in black lesbian and gay history.

NOTES

1. In keeping with the spirit of the manifesto, I have used "Third World" throughout the essay, even though I find the term problematic.

2. In fact, the risk was potentially disastrous in light of the FBI's agenda to destroy the party. Accord to Daniel Tsang, a social sciences researchers, the FBI used the open letter as an opportunity to discredit Newton's leadership. The FBI wrote bogus letters purporting to be from party members saying, "I have seen by last weeks paper that now Panthers are supposed to relate to cocksuckers. Huey is wrong. Something must have happened to him in prison. Panthers got enough things to do in 10 point program and fighting for niggers without taking up with mother fucking queers. All power to the people." Considering the FBI's tactics, it is not farfetched to assume that it probably worked to undermine more directly the Panther-gay liberation alliance.

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